

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 TRSY-02 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01
INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15
ICA-11 ACDA-12 SIL-01 LAB-04 OMB-01 EB-08 MCT-01
COME-00 IO-13 /108 W
-----086161 061854Z /41

R 061620Z JUN 78
FM AMEMBASSY ROME
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3337
INFO AMCONSUL FLORENCE
AMCONSUL GENOA
AMCONSUL MILAN
AMCONSUL NAPLES
AMCONSUL PALERMO
AMCONSUL TRIESTE POUCH
AMCONSUL TURIN POUCH

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 ROME 10455

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT, IT
SUBJ: VIEWS OF DC REFORM LEADERS

REF: MILAN 862

1. SUMMARY: THE AMBASSADOR AND DCM RECENTLY MET OVER LUNCH WITH A REPRESENTATIVE GROUP OF REFORM-MINDED CHRISTIAN DEMOCRAT (DC) PARTLIAMENTARIANS TO OBTAIN THEIR PERSPECTIVE OF THE POLITICAL SCENE IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE MORO ASSASSINATION AND THE PCI'S MAY LOCAL ELECTION SETBACK. ONE OF THE MOST INTERESTING PERCEPTIONS THAT EMERGED IS THE NEW-FOUND AGREEMENT BETWEEN DC MODERATES OF THE GROUP OF 100 AND DC-LEFT SUPPORTERS OF THE ANDREOTTI/ZACCAGNINI RULING MINORITY ON THE TACTICAL NECESSITY TO MAINTAIN THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT IN PLACE AT LEAST THROUGH THE DECEMBER
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PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS. NONETHELESS, THE PREMISES AND POLITICAL STRATEGIES OF THE TWO GROUPS REMAIN DISTINCT. PARTY MODERATES AND CONSERVATIVES (WHO FORM THE MAJORITY IN THE DC PARLIAMENTARY GROUP) SEE THE ANDREOTTI GOVERNMENT FORMULA AS A TEMPORARY EXPEDIENT THAT SHOULD NOT OUTLAST THE SPRING. THEY ALSO WANT A CHANGE IN THE MINORITY LEFT WING CONTROL OF THE PARTY SECRE-

TARIAT (ZACCAGNINI/GALLONI). IN CONTRAST, THE PARTY'S LEFT-WING ARGUES THAT THE ANDREOTTI GOVERNMENT ARRANGEMENT IS USEFUL AND NEED NOT BE MODIFIED. END SUMMARY.

1. OVER LUNCH, A REPRESENTATIVE GROUP OF REFORM-MINDED DC PARLIAMENTARIANS SHARED THEIR VIEWS OF THE CURRENT POLITICAL SCENE. THE GROUP INCLUDED SOME MEMBERS OF THE GROUP OF 100 (MAZZOTTA AND SEGNI) AS WELL AS THE DC'S LEFT-WING REFORM GROUP (ANDREOTTIANI SUCH AS CIRINO-POMICINO). ALTHOUGH THESE GROUPS WERE AT LOGGERHEADS DURING LAST WINTER'S GOVERNMENT CRISIS, THE DEGREE TO WHICH THEY AGREED ON THE CURRENT TACTICAL NECESSITY TO MAINTAIN THE ANDREOTTI GOVERNMENT IN PLACE AT LEAST THROUGH THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS IN DECEMBER WAS STRIKING. DESPITE THE CONSENSUS OVER SHORT-TERM TACTICS, THERE CONTINUE TO BE BASIC DIFFERENCES BETWEEN REFORM-MODERATES SUCH AS MAZZOTTA AND THE ANDREOTTI-ZACCAGNINI LEFT WING OF THE DC OVER BASIC PARTY STRATEGY. THESE DIFFERENCES EMERGED CLEARLY IN THE AMBASSADOR'S CONVERSATION WITH MAZZOTTA AND OTHERS PRESENT AND ARE WORTH UNDERLINING.

2. ASKED BY THE AMBASSADOR WHY THE GROUP OF 100 COULD NOW LIVE WITH THE ANDREOTTI GOVERNMENT FORMULA, SEGNI AND MAZZOTTA REPLIED THAT IN ADDITION TO THE FAVORABLE MAY ELECTION RESULTS, TWO UNEXPECTED DEVELOP-
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MENTS HAD CHANGED THE SITUATION. THESE WERE MORO'S REMOVAL FROM THE POLITICAL SCENE AND THE BLOW ADMINISTERED TO THE "MYTH OF EUROCOMMUNISM" BY THE FRENCH ELECTION RESULTS. SEGNI SAID THAT MORO HAD TOLD THEM QUITE FRANKLY THAT THE DC HAD TO FIND THE BEST AND SAFEST WAY OF SHARING POWER WITH THE PCI. MORO HAD ADMITTED THAT BRINGING THE PCI INTO THE MAJORITY WAS BUT A STEP TOWARD EVENTUAL FULL PCI PARTICIPATION IN GOVERNMENT. THIS IS WHAT THE GROUP OF 100 OPPOSITION WAS ALL ABOUT. MAZZOTTA'S GROUP COULD ACCEPT THE PRESENT ARRANGEMENT AS A TEMPORARY, EMERGENCY EXPEDIENCY BUT NOT AS A PENULTIMATE STEP TO A POLITICAL ACCORD WITH THE PCI. WITH MORO'S DEATH, THE SITUATION CHANGED BUT, NOT EARLY ENOUGH, AS A PRACTICAL MATTER, TO CONSIDER NEW ELECTIONS NOW.

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3. MAZZOTTA AND HIS COLLEAGUES SEEK CHANGES IN THE LEADERSHIP OF THE SECRETARIAT WHICH SINCE THE JUNE 1976 ELECTIONS NO LONGER REPRESENTS THE MAJORITY OF THE DC PARLIAMENTARY GROUP. IN THAT POLLING WHICH SHIFTED THE DC IDEOLOGICALLY TO THE RIGHT, THE PARTY'S LEFT WING, WHICH ONLY SHORTLY BEFORE HAD NARROWLY WON CONTROL OF THE SECRETARIAT AT THE MARCH 1976 CONGRESS, BECAME A MINORITY. ARGUING THAT THE POLITICAL SITUATION OFFERED NO OTHER REALISTIC ALTERNATIVES, MORO HAD BEEN ABLE TO CONTAIN THE DISCONTENT OF PARTY MODERATES AND CONSERVATIVES. IN THE NEW SITUATION, MAZZOTTA AND HIS GROUP WILL WORK WITH OTHER PARTY MODERATES (THE DOROTEI AND FORZE HUOVE WINGS) TO SEEK TO MAKE THE DC SECRETARIAT MORE REFLECTIVE OF THE PARTY'S MAJORITY VIEWS.

4. IN POLITICAL TERMS, THE MAZZOTTA GROUP IS
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CRITICAL OF ANDREOTTI AND THE SECRETARIAT FOR WHAT THEY REGARD AS AN OVERLY CONCILIATORY ATTITUDE TOWARD THE PCI. WITHOUT ADVOCATING A BREAK, THEY SUPPORT A LESS ACCOMMODATING POLICY TOWARD THE PCI. WHILE THEY (AND MANY OTHERS) THINK THT NEW ELECTIONS NEXT

SPRING ARE HIGHLY LIKELY, THEY WANT THE COMMUNISTS TO BEAR THE ONUS FOR BRINGING THEM ABOUT. THEY THEREFORE WANT THE DC TO HOLD THE PCI'S FEET TO THE FIRE IN THE INTERIM.

5. IN CONTRAST, ANDREOTTIANI SUCH AS CIRINO-POMICINO ARGUE THAT THE PCI'S LOCAL ELECTION SETBACK DEMONSTRATES THAT MORO'S STRATEGY OF CO-OPTING THE PCI IN GOVERNMENT IS WORKING. HE SEES NO REASON WHY THE ANDREOTTI GOVERNMENT ARRANGEMENT NEED BE MODIFIED AFTER THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS. THE MAY RESULTS SHOWED THAT THE VOTERS UNDERSTAND THAT THE DC IS NOT ENGAGING IN A POLITICAL ALLIANCE WITH THE PCI. THE ELECTORATE FURTHERMORE DID NOT PUNISH THE DC FOR COOPERATING WITH THE PCI TO THE EXTENT NEEDED TO GOVERN ITALY. IN FACT, WITH THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS SCHEDULED FOR NEXT SPRING, CIRINO-POMICINO PERSONALLY DOUBTS THAT NEW PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS ARE LIKELY IN THE SPRING. MANY DC AND LEFT-WING PARLIAMENTARIANS (INCLUDING BASE AND MOROTEI) SHARE THIS VIEW.

6. IF BOTH MAZZOTTA AND CIRINO-POMICINO FIND THEMSELVES IN AGREEMENT ON THE NEED TO AVOID ANY CHANGE IN THE ANDREOTTI GOVERNMENT AT LEAST THROUGH DECEMBER, THEY START FROM DIFFERENT PREMISES AND END WITH DIFFERENT CONCLUSIONS. ONE SEES THE PRESENT FORMULA AS A TEMPORARY EXPEDIENT THAT WILL PROBABLY NOT OUTLAST THE SPRING. THE OTHER BELIEVES IT OFFERS CONFIDENTIAL

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A FRAMEWORK FOR A NECESSARY BUT INDEFINITE PERIOD OF DC-PCI COOPERATION. ONE SEEKS CHANGES IN THE DC'S LEADERSHIP; THE OTHER HOPES TO WARD OFF SUCH MOVES. THUS, NOTWITHSTANDING A MOMENTARY TACTICAL IDENTITY OF APPROACH, THE BASIC DIVISION BETWEEN THE DC'S MODERATE AND LEFT WINGS REMAINS DISTINCT AND UNCHANGED. HOLMES

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